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The Population of Connecticut, 1970: Nativity and Racial Composition

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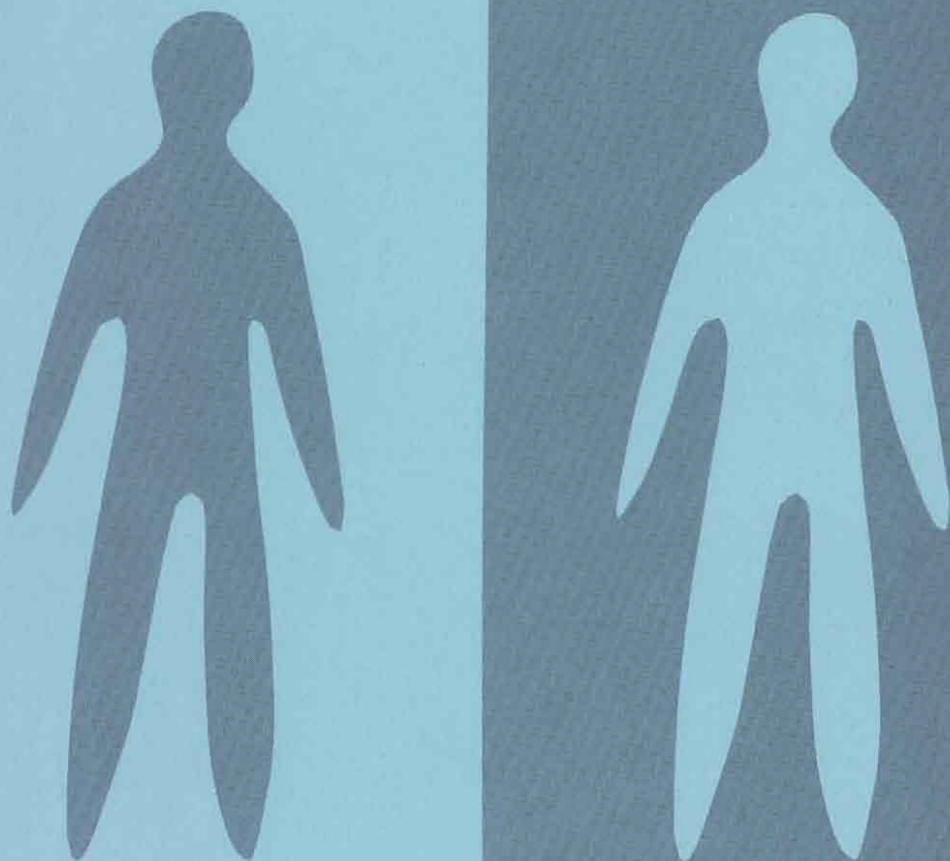
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Bulletin 424, January 1974

THE POPULATION OF CONNECTICUT, 1970

Nativity and Racial Composition

By Kenneth Hadden, Assistant Professor, Department of Rural Sociology.



STORRS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
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Nativity and Racial Composition

By Kenneth Hadden*

Introduction

The population of Connecticut, like the nation's population, has been drawn from many countries of the world. Successive waves of immigration have flowed into the United States - first from Northern and Western Europe and Africa, later from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Orient, and more recently from the Caribbean and Latin America. The reasons for the mass flow of immigrants into this country were many and varied: in some cases it was to escape persecution in native lands; in others it was the promise of new opportunities, land, adventure; and, tragically, our present black population derives largely from Africans who were forcibly transported to these shores as slaves.

During the century and a half since 1820, when records were first kept, over 45 million immigrants entered the United States. While some returned to their native lands, most remained in this country establishing new lives. Figure 1 indicates that the pattern of immigration fluctuated considerably from decade to decade. The nine decades from 1821 to 1910 may be characterized as periods of irregularly increasing immigration, with a peak being reached during the first decade of this century. From that peak until World War II immigration decreased monotonically and substantially. Several Federal immigration laws enacted in 1917 and during the 1920's, as well as the economic depression of the 1930's, were instrumental in this precipitous decline in immigration. Since World War II, immigration has increased regularly. The decade of the 1960's saw about three and one-third million migrants arrive from other nations; this volume of immigration was exceeded only by five decades (1881 - 1930) of higher immigration. Clearly, however, the impact of recent immigrants on the nation has been fairly small because their proportion of the total U.S. population is considerably smaller than was the case during the earlier high immigration periods.

This report will not, however, deal with immigration; rather it will concern itself with a direct consequence of past patterns of immigration - the present nativity and racial composition of the population of Connecticut. In this regard we will concern ourselves with the way in which the various groups (e.g., foreign born and Negro) are distributed spatially as, for example, between rural and urban residences. We will also inquire about the countries of origin of the foreign born

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living in Connecticut in 1970. Attention will be directed to selected background characteristics of the various nativity and racial groups. Some comparisons will be made between the nativity and racial composition of Connecticut and of other New England States. Finally, several aspects of Connecticut's Spanish language population, an important minority group which has emerged in recent years, will be discussed.

Before turning to the major concerns of this report, a discussion of definitions is in order so that ambiguity and misunderstanding might be avoided. The definitions presented are those used in the 1970 Census of Population; where changes in definition have occurred in recent censuses, the nature of the changes is indicated.

Nativity: On the basis of a question asking for place of birth, the population is classified into two categories. "Native" refers to persons born in the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, an outlying area of the U.S., or at sea. In addition, persons born in foreign countries but having at least one native American parent are classified as native. Persons not classified as native are placed in the second nativity category, foreign born. The foreign stock refers to the foreign born population and the native population of foreign or mixed parentage; this category, then, includes all first and second generation Americans. The foreign stock population is reported by country of origin according to international boundaries recognized by the U.S. government on April 1, 1970, and not the boundaries which may have existed either at the time of birth or of immigration of the foreign born.

Race: The Census Bureau's use of the concept of race is not intended to denote a clear-cut scientific definition of biological stock. The 1970 Census obtained information on race primarily through self-enumeration; the data therefore, represent essentially a self-classification by people according to the race with which they identify themselves. Persons of mixed parentage who were doubtful as to their classification were assigned to the same category as their father. This differs from the 1960 Census when persons of mixed parentage of white and any other race were classified according to the other race, while mixtures of races other than white were classified according to the race of the father. Prior to 1960, information on race was provided by the enumerator according to criteria then in effect and not by the respondent. Therefore, some differences in classification of persons by race between 1950 and 1960 will have occurred because of changes in procedures.

The category white consists of persons who indicated their race as white and of persons who did not classify themselves in one of the specific race categories but who entered Mexican, Puerto Rican, or a response suggesting Indo-European stock. The category Negro consists of persons who indicated their race as Negro or black and of persons who did not classify themselves in one of the specific race categories but who had such entries as Jamaican, Trinidadian, West Indian, Haitian, or Ethiopian. The term Negro and other races (or

non-white) includes persons of all races other than white. The non-white race categories other than Negro to which respondents could assign themselves in 1970 were: American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian and Korean.

Spanish Heritage: In the 1970 Census, social and economic characteristics are presented for the population of Spanish heritage. In Connecticut this population is identified as persons of Spanish language which consists of persons of Spanish mother tongue and all other persons in families in which the head or wife reported Spanish as his or her mother tongue.

These definitions are spelled out in greater detail elsewhere (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Appendix B).

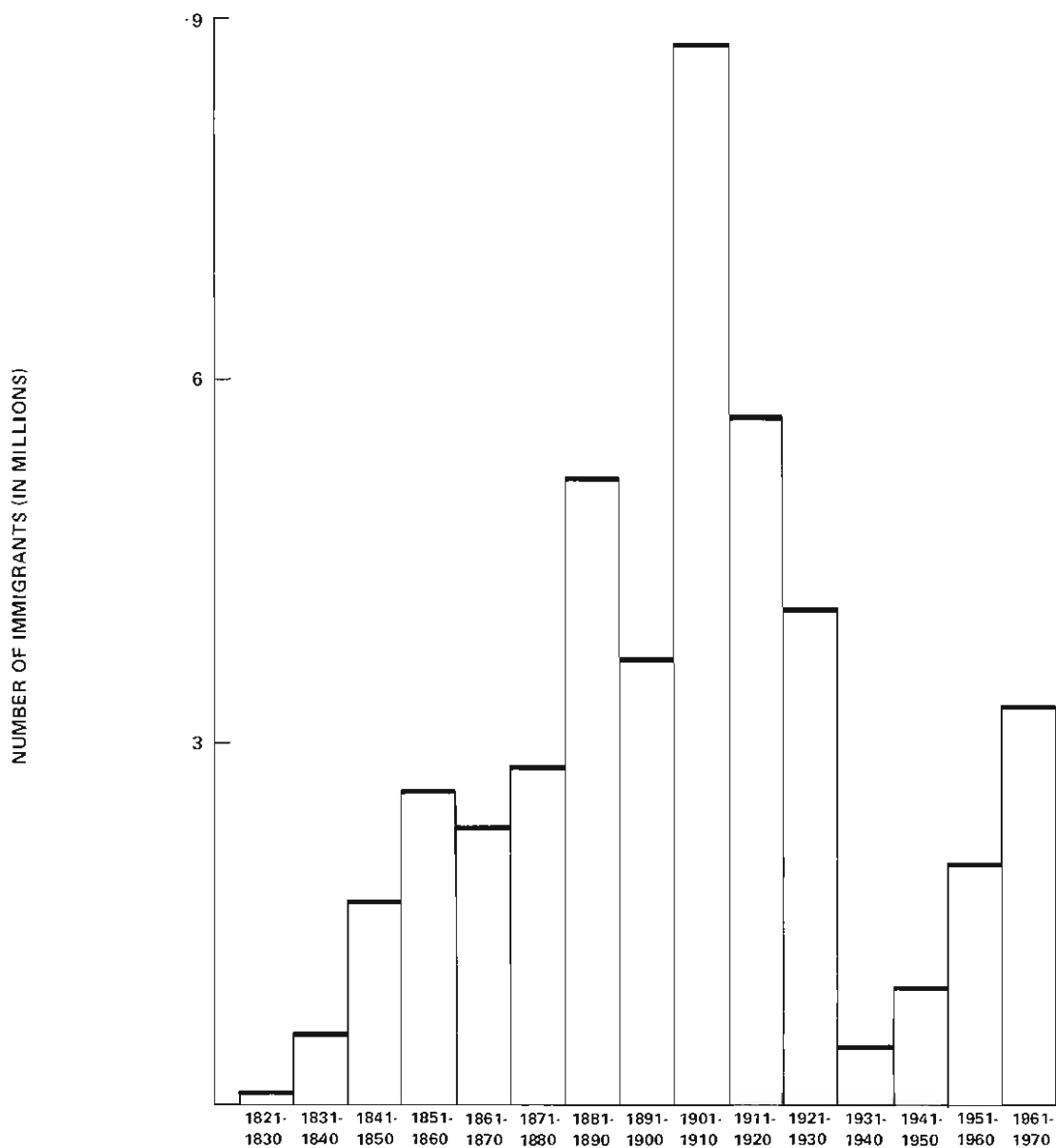
HISTORICAL TRENDS IN NATIVITY AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

We have already seen (Figure 1) that the flow of immigrants into the United States declined greatly after the first decade of this century. It seems reasonable to expect that the flow of immigrants into Connecticut would also have diminished since that time. Of course, since immigrants tend to be relatively young when they enter the country, their presence in the population is observable for as long as fifty years after their arrival. This suggests that the absolute number of foreign born in Connecticut may not have changed drastically since 1900. In fact, this is the case. In 1900, there were about 237 thousand foreign born persons* residing in Connecticut; in 1970, there were almost 252 thousand. So, while immigration into the country as a whole and, presumably, the State decreased substantially between 1900 and 1970, the number of foreign born in Connecticut actually increased slightly. The peak number occurred in 1930 when about 382 thousand foreign born persons resided in Connecticut.

Absolute numbers can be somewhat misleading, however. Since 1900 the population of Connecticut has more than tripled, primarily because of the fertility of the native and foreign-born populations coupled with low levels of mortality; migration, both from overseas and from other states, has also been an important cause of this growth. We have seen that the foreign-born population has not changed substantially which indicates that the foreign born as a proportion of the total population has, in fact, declined considerably since 1900. Figure 2 (and Appendix I) bears this out. In 1900, slightly more than one person in four in the total State population was a foreign-born white. This figure increased to almost three in ten by 1910. Since 1910, this figure has declined consistently until, in 1970, only about one person in 12 in Connecticut was white and of foreign birth.

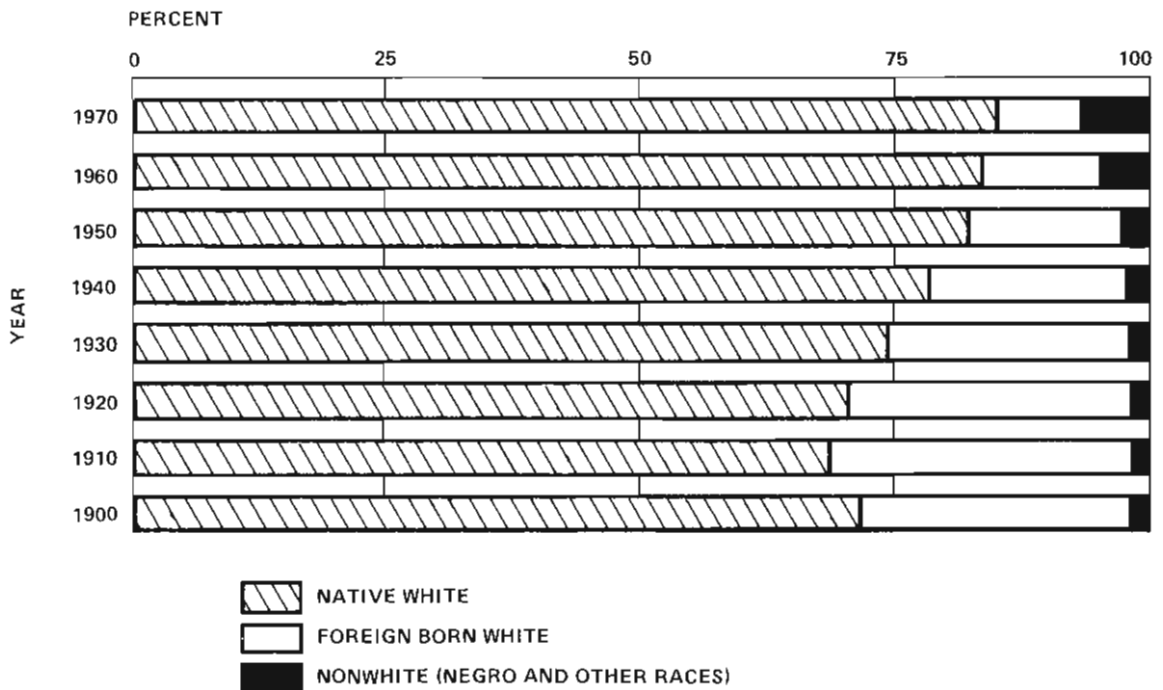
* We are restricting our attention here to foreign born whites since foreign born non-whites made up less than 4 percent of the total foreign born population in 1970. Before 1970 this percentage was even smaller. Foreign born non-whites are, of course, included in the category "Negro and other races".

Figure 1. Immigration to the United States: 1821-1970.



SOURCE: Tomlinson, 1965, p. 243; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972 e.

Figure 2. Percent of Connecticut's Population which was Native White, Foreign Born White and Nonwhite: 1900-1970.



SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX I.

It appears likely that the proportion of the State's population made up of foreign born will continue to decline. The resurgence of immigration into the country since World War II suggests, however, that the foreign born will continue to be a significant proportion of the State's population for the foreseeable future.

The non-white population of Connecticut has shown quite a different pattern of change during this century. In 1900 and 1910 there were approximately 16 thousand non-whites in the State. This population grew in size at nearly the same rate as the white population of the State until 1940, at which time there were slightly over 34 thousand non-white residents in Connecticut. Mainly because of the migration of Negroes out of the South into states in the Northeast, North central and West, and because of the relatively high fertility of the resident Negro population, the non-white population of Connecticut grew to over 196 thousand by 1970. (It may appear that we are using the terms Negro and non-white synonymously, but that is not the case; as will be seen shortly, Negroes comprise an overwhelming majority of the non-white population of the State).

As may be seen in Figure 2 (and Appendix I), the proportion of the total population which was non-white did not change appreciably between 1900 (1.8 percent) and 1940 (2.0 percent). Since 1940, however, this portion of the population grew at over three times the rate of growth of the total population. Nonetheless, the proportion of Connecticut's population which was non-white in 1970 (6.4 percent) was well below the comparable figure for the nation as a whole (12.5 percent).

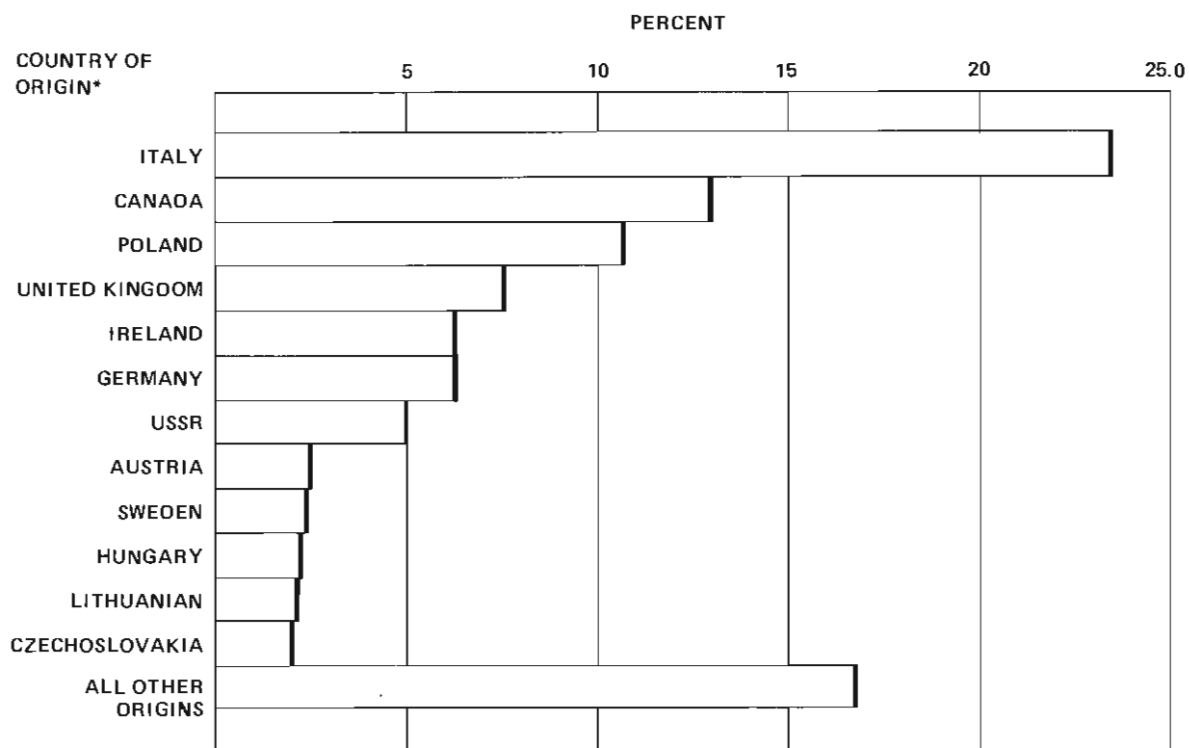
To sum up, the foreign born population of Connecticut, while being of approximately the same size in 1970 as in 1900, declined during this century from 26.1 percent of the population to 8.3 percent. The non-white population, on the other hand, has shown a pattern of sustained growth during this century, with this growth greatly accelerating since the Second World War. Despite these strikingly different patterns of change, the foreign-born population in Connecticut was still larger than the non-white population in 1970. If present trends continue, their relative sizes are likely to be reversed by 1980. Finally, it should be noted that while the changing proportions of the foreign born (decreasing) and non-whites (increasing) partially off-set each other, this "canceling out" was far from total; the native born white population increased from 72.1 percent of the State's population in 1900 to 85.3 percent of the total in 1970.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

In 1970 there were about 970 thousand persons of foreign stock (first and second generation) residing in Connecticut. This amounts to nearly one-third of the State's population and provides clear testimony of the impact of past immigration on the population growth of Connecticut.

Connecticut's foreign-stock population derives from many of the countries of the world, although substantial numbers come from a relatively small number of countries. Figure 3 shows the percent of Connecticut's foreign stock which have come from the twelve major countries of

Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of Connecticut's Foreign Stock
According to Country of Origin: 1970.*



SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX II.

*ONLY THOSE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED BY 2.0 PERCENT OR MORE
OF CONNECTICUT'S FOREIGN STOCK ARE SHOWN INDIVIDUALLY.

origin.*

Over one-half of Connecticut's foreign stock in 1970 originated in one of four countries. Italy was by far the largest contributor; about 227 thousand first and second generation Italians, or 23.5 percent of the State's foreign stock, lived in Connecticut in 1970. Canadians constituted the second largest group, about 126 thousand or 13 percent of the State's foreign stock population. Almost 104 thousand (10.7 percent) first and second generation Poles lived in the State in 1970. About 71 thousand (7.4 percent) of Connecticut's foreign stock originated from the United Kingdom. Ireland, Germany (East and West), and the U.S.S.R. each contributed at least 5 percent of the State's foreign stock. Foreign stock from the remaining countries of origin constitute smaller proportions of the State's total foreign stock. It seems probable that displaced persons and refugees (and their children) are reflected in the numbers of persons originating in Hungary, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CONNECTICUT'S POPULATION

In 1970, 93.5 percent of the State's population classified itself as white. This is somewhat higher than the nation as a whole; in 1970, 87.5 percent of the country's population was white. The major non-white race in the State, as in the U.S., was Negro; 6.0 percent of Connecticut's population classified itself as Negro or black. The remaining races for which detailed information is presented - American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino - were all of similar size; there were approximately two thousand members of each race in Connecticut in 1970.

The major racial categories - white, Negro and other - grew in size between 1960 and 1970 in inverse relation to their size; that is, the white population grew at the lowest rate (about 13 percent), while the Negro population grew at a higher rate (about 70 percent), and the other races collectively grew by about 280 percent between 1960 and 1970. Despite the high growth rates of the Negro and other race populations,** their relatively small size indicates that even if recent growth patterns continue in the future they will only increase modestly in size relative to the majority white population.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVITY AND RACIAL GROUPS

Rural-Urban Residence:

Immigrants to the United States settled primarily in urban centers such as New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Chicago. In Connecticut prior to World War II they had settled mainly along the southwestern

* See Appendix II for a more detailed listing of countries of origin and the number of foreign stock residing in Connecticut in 1970 and 1960 coming from each.

** Between 1960 and 1970 the non-white races in Connecticut grew at an average annual rate of 5.7 percent which, if continued, would have this group doubling in size in 12.3 years (Steahr, 1973).

coastline in Bridgeport, New Haven, Stamford and Norwalk, and in the west central portion of the State in Hartford and Waterbury (Whetten and Riecken, 1943). Are the foreign born still concentrated in urban areas or have they come to be distributed in a way similar to the native born population? Are the children of the foreign born - the population of foreign or mixed parentage - distributed as their parents are or are they more like the population of native parentage in their residence patterns?

The left-hand portion of Figure 4 (and Appendix IV) indicates that three-quarters of Connecticut's population of native parentage (third or higher generation) lived in places classified as urban (ie., of 2500 population or more); most of the remaining one-quarter are classified as rural non-farm residents.*

A substantially higher proportion of the foreign born population of Connecticut was classified as urban in 1970 - over 86 percent. This indicates that the foreign born differ appreciably in their residence patterns from the native population of native parentage. The former were more urban than the latter, even though the two groups had about the same proportions classified as rural farm.

The native population of foreign or mixed parentage were intermediate between the two groups discussed above, both in their nativity and their degree of urbanization. Nearly 81 percent of the second generation population resided in urban places; like the two preceding groups less than 2 percent were classified as rural farm residents.

When we consider that the foreign born are first generation Americans, that the native of foreign or mixed parentage are (at least with respect to one parent) second generation, and that the native born are third generation or more, we see that the longer (in generational terms) one has been in this country the less likely one is to reside in urban places and the more likely one is to live in residences classified as rural non-farm. In short, the children of immigrants appear to be coming to display a residential pattern similar to that of the longer established groups. We will attempt to provide an explanation for these differing patterns of residence after we take a somewhat more detailed look at the distribution of nativity groups according to the size of the community of residence.

The Negro population of the United States has historically been primarily a Southern rural population. Since 1940, Negroes have moved out of the South in large numbers, mainly to cities of the North and West. We see in Figure 4 (and Appendix IV) that Negroes who live in Connecticut reside overwhelmingly in urban places; over 96 percent of Connecticut's Negro population lived in places of 2500 inhabitants or more in 1970. Most of the remaining non-urban Negroes are classified as rural non-farm residents.

* The rural non-farm population consists of that portion of the total population which neither (a) lives in places of 2500 or more (urban population) nor (b) on 10 or more acres of land from which sales of farm products amounted to at least \$50 in 1969 or on less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to \$250 or more in 1969 (rural farm population).

In contrast, about twenty percent fewer of the white population (76.1 percent) lived in urban places in the State in 1970. An additional 22 percent lived in rural non-farm residences and less than two percent were classified as rural farm residents. Despite the fact that Negroes were far more urbanized than whites, absolute numbers paint a rather different picture. The urban population of Connecticut is overwhelmingly white even though a substantially higher proportion of Negroes than whites are classified as urban residents; in 1970 there were over 2.1 million white urban residents in Connecticut and only about 175 thousand Negro urban residents in the State.

A somewhat higher percentage of the "other race" category than white lived in urban places - 85.6 percent. Only a very small percentage (0.6) of this racially heterogeneous group were classified as rural farm residents in 1970. The remaining 13.8 percent were, of course, classified as rural non-farm residents.

The Spanish language population of Connecticut was almost as urban as the Negro population. Almost 92 percent of this group resided in urban places in 1971. And like the Negro and other racial populations, less than one percent of the Spanish language population was classified as rural farm.

To sum up, only a very small proportion of any of the nativity or racial groups in Connecticut lived on what the Census has defined as farms. At least 75 percent of each of the groups was classified as urban with the foreign born, the Spanish language population, and non-whites being the most urban and the native born and whites being the least urban.

Size of Place of Residence:

As we have indicated, the urban category employed above refers to all places with population in excess of 2500; the category includes fairly small communities as well as large cities. The characterizations we have made of one or another of the nativity or racial groups as urban need, therefore, to be taken as broadly as the definition of urban itself. In this section we will employ a somewhat more detailed classification of communities according to their size. The classes employed are as follows:

Urbanized areas consisting of (a) a central city of 50,000 population or more, or twin cities with a combined population of 50,000 and the smaller of the twins having at least 15,000 inhabitants, and (b) the urban fringe, the closely settled territory surrounding the central city or cities;

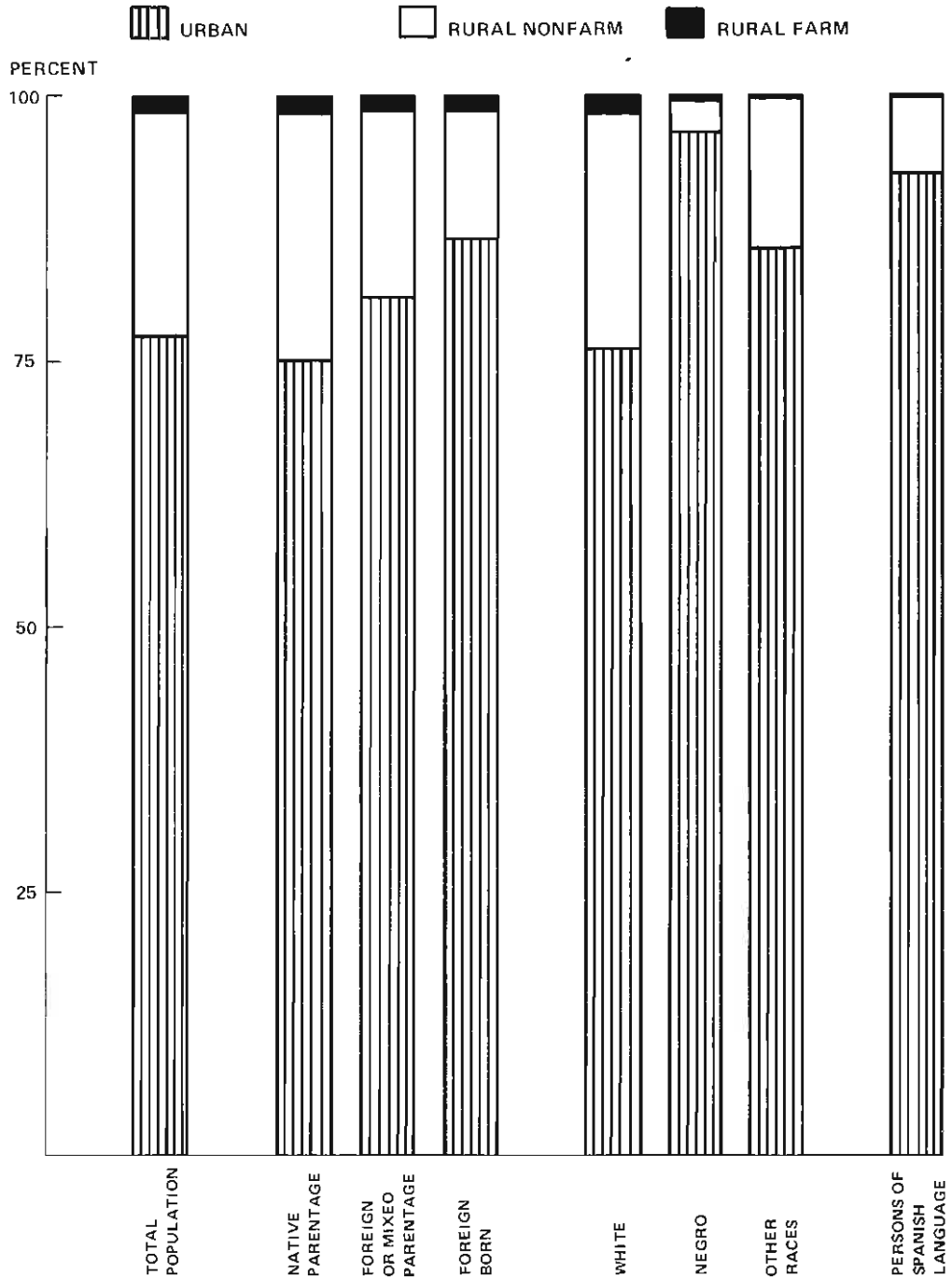
Urban communities with 10,000 or more inhabitants which are not part of any urbanized area;

Urban communities with from 2500 to 10,000 inhabitants;

And, finally, places with less than 2500 residents, which corresponds to the rural farm plus rural non-farm populations employed in the preceeding section.

The use of this more detailed classification scheme will permit us to make correspondingly more detailed conclusions regarding the distribution

Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups by Urban, Rural Nonfarm and Rural Farm Residence, Connecticut: 1970.



SOURCE: SEE APPENOIX IV.

of nativity and racial groups in communities of differing sizes in Connecticut.

Figure 5 (and Appendix V) presents the percentage distributions of the various nativity and racial groups according to size of place of residence in 1970. Almost 70 percent of Connecticut's population resided in urbanized areas; this amounts to some 2.1 million people. Of these, approximately 33 percent lived in central cities, while 36.5 percent lived in the fringe areas around the core cities. Only eight percent of the State's population lived in smaller urban places; 4.3 percent in communities of over 10,000 population which were not in urbanized areas, and 3.7 percent in urban communities with less than 10,000 inhabitants. Almost 23 percent, as we have seen, lived in rural areas. Clearly, then, the State may be characterized as urbanized since a substantial majority of its residents lived in urbanized areas in 1970.

Two out of three residents of native parentage lived in urbanized areas; about 31 percent, lowest of the nativity groups, lived in central cities, while almost 36 percent lived in suburban fringe areas.

Almost three out of four residents of foreign or mixed parentage lived in urbanized areas; this group was somewhat more suburban than the native parentage or foreign born populations. Over 40 percent of this group resided in urban fringe areas, and about 33 percent lived in central cities.

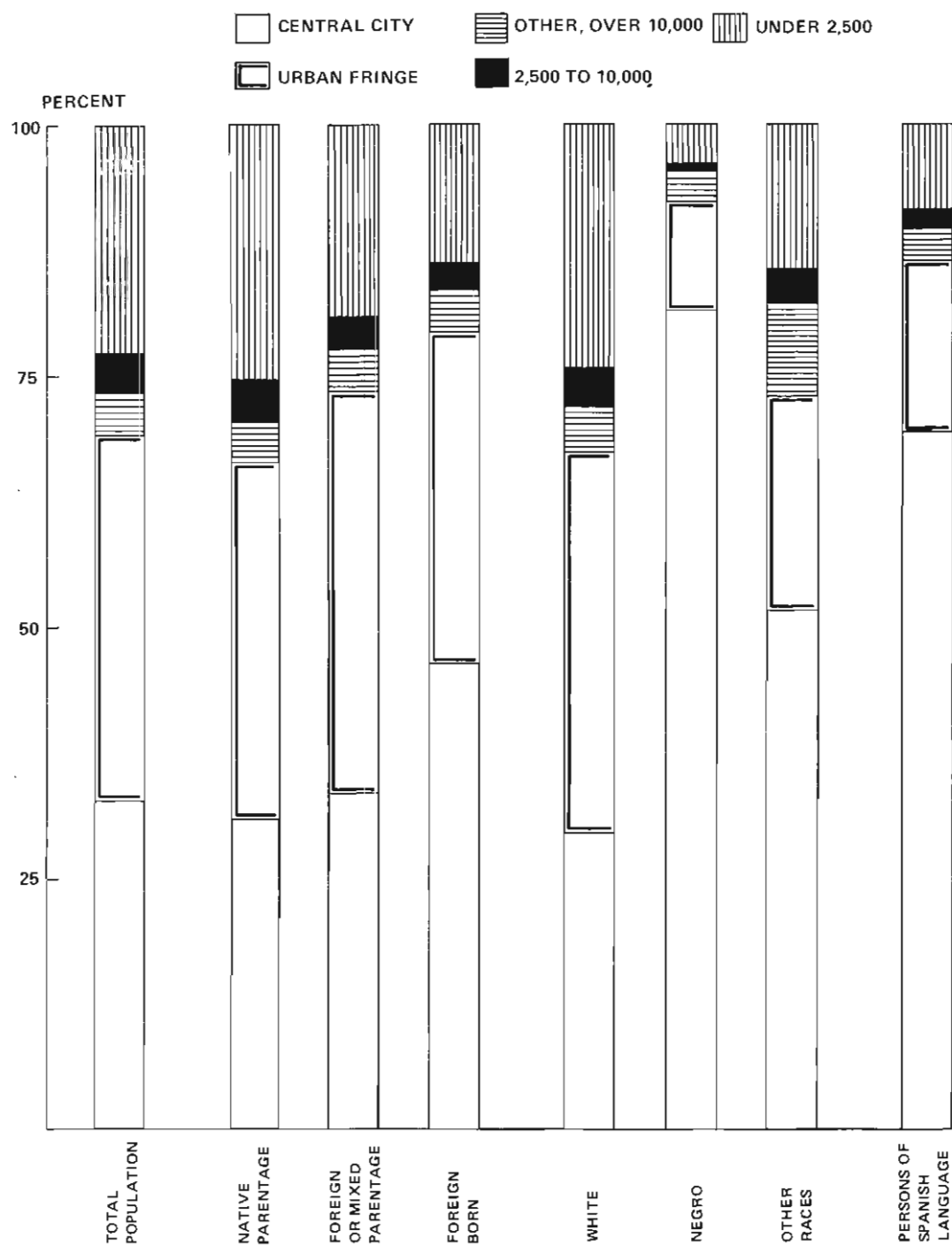
The last of the nativity groups, the foreign born, had about four out of five of its members living in urbanized areas. Not only were the foreign born the most urbanized of the nativity groups, but this group was also disproportionately concentrated in the central cities of the urbanized areas.

A pattern seems to emerge when we look at the residence patterns of the three nativity groups at the same time. The most recent arrivals, the first generation Americans, are most likely to be living in urbanized areas, particularly in the central cities, and least likely to be living in the suburban fringes, small urban communities or in rural areas. The children of immigrants, the second generation Americans, will have grown up in this country and become assimilated into American culture to a greater extent, in general, than their parents. They are less likely than their parents, in short, to reside in ethnic enclaves often formed in large urban areas. Finally, the population of native parentage, third and higher generation Americans, are least likely to reside in urbanized areas, particularly in the central cities, and most likely to be living in small urban communities or rural areas.

The cost of housing and the income differences between the nativity groups may be an important factor in this pattern. There is a tendency for housing costs to increase as one moves from central city to fringe.*

* For example, in 1970 in Connecticut metropolitan areas the following pattern existed: the median value of owner occupied housing was \$20,100 in central cities and \$22,200 outside central cities, while the median contract rent of renter occupied housing was \$102 per month in central cities and \$127 per month outside central cities (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971b, Table 5).

Figure 5. Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups by size of Place of Residence, Connecticut: 1970.



SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX V.

Unfortunately, income figures are not available for the nativity groups, but educational attainment (which is strongly related to income) differences exist between the nativity groups: the foreign born have substantially lower educations, on the average, than do the native born. Following this logic, it appears as though one reason for the different residential patterns for the several nativity groups has to do with the ability of the native born (both of native and foreign parentage) to bear the higher costs of housing outside the central cities of urbanized areas and the inability of large numbers of the foreign born to bear these costs.

A second reason for the observed distributions of nativity groups according to size of place of residence may depend on the drastically different age composition of the native and foreign born populations. Although we will look at age composition in greater detail later, we can briefly state the differences now: the foreign born group is, on the average, much older than the native born.* This being so, a native born family is far more likely than a foreign born family to have young children and to desire the more spacious housing available in fringe as compared to central city areas. Incidentally, these very different age distributions further reinforce the idea that the native born groups have higher income levels which thereby permit their living in the more expensive suburban areas.

Undoubtedly there are other, perhaps more important, causes of the differing distribution of the nativity groups within urbanized areas. The foreign born have, however, become more suburbanized since 1960 when only about 25 percent lived in urban fringe areas of Connecticut compared with 33 percent in 1970.

Only small differences exist between the nativity groups in their residence in other urban places. Considerable difference exists in their propensity to live in rural areas, however. About one person of native parentage in four lives in rural areas; this figure is one in five for the native born with foreign or mixed parentage, and drops to about one in six for the foreign born. It appears as though the foreign born are least likely to reside in rural areas just as they were least likely to live in the urban fringe areas and, perhaps, for similar reasons.

Turning to the racial groups, now, we see that the distribution of the white population very closely parallels that of the native population with native parents; this is so because the groups overlap to a substantial degree.

The Negro population is by far the most urbanized of all the groups considered here; more than eight out of every ten Negroes in Connecticut live in central cities of urbanized areas while another one of ten lives in urban fringe areas. Only a very small percentage - the remaining 7.5 percent - live outside urbanized areas. This pattern of residences probably reflects to some degree the income levels of the Negro population. In 1970 the median family income of whites in Connecticut was over \$12,000, while the corresponding figure for Negroes was less than \$8,000. This,

* In 1970 in Connecticut, the median age of the native born white population was 27.5 years as compared with 56.7 years for the foreign born white population.

however, is probably not the entire story. Some evidence exists (Taeuber, 1965) which indicates that the residential pattern of Negroes in large cities results more from systematic discrimination than from income differences.

The other racial population lies midway between the white and Negro groups in its degree of urbanization. This group is more likely to be found in the urban fringe, the other urban places, and rural areas than the Negro population is. Since this category is both small and heterogeneous, very little can be said regarding the determinants of their residential pattern.

Finally, the Spanish language population is nearly as urbanized as the Negro, although the former are somewhat more likely to be located in the fringe of urbanized areas. Again, the disproportionate tendency for the Spanish language population to live in central cities or urbanized areas may result from its relatively low income level; the median family income of this group in 1970 in Connecticut was only about \$8600.

One way to summarize the differing residential patterns of the nativity and racial groups (Duncan and Reiss, 1956) is to employ an index of urbanization:*

$$\sum_{i=1}^5 X_{i-1} Y_i - X_i Y_{i-1}$$

There are, in this case, five size-of-place groups; the proportions of the various race-nativity groups are cumulated from the largest to smallest size-of-place group. Then, X_i is the cumulative proportion for the i th size-of-place group of the race-nativity group whose urbanization is being measured, while Y_i refers, correspondingly, to the white population. This index can vary from a high of 1.00 (maximum urbanization) to a low of -1.00 (minimum urbanization).

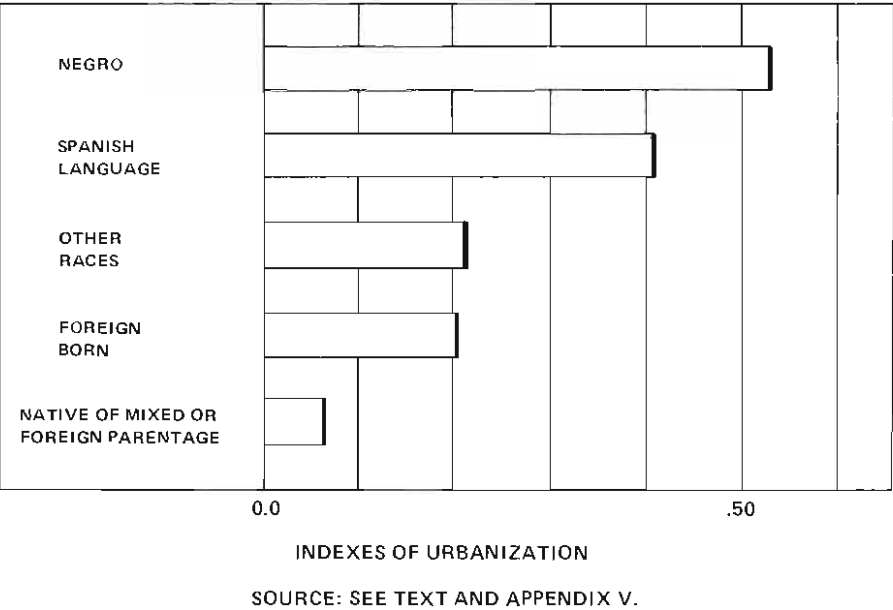
Figure 6 presents these indexes. Clearly, the Negro population is the most urbanized relative to the white population; the Spanish language population is second most urbanized. The foreign born and other race populations are urbanized to about the same degree but still considerably more so than the white population. The native population of mixed or foreign-born parentage is only slightly more urbanized than the white population of the State.

Metropolitan Areas:

In 1970 Connecticut contained eleven Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) which are defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as consisting of a central city with at least 50,000 inhabitants (or "twin cities" with a combined population of at least 50,000 population); plus any contiguous towns which can be demonstrated to be closely integrated, socially and economically, with the central city or cities. Appendix VI presents, for each of these eleven SMSAs, the percent of its population which was foreign born, native born of foreign-mixed parentage,

* This index is computed using the distribution of Connecticut's white population according to size of place as the standard.

Figure 6. Indexes of Urbanization of Nativity and Racial Groups, Connecticut: 1970.



non-white, and of the Spanish language. Considerable differences existed in 1970 between the various SMSAs in the proportions of their populations which were in these nativity and racial groups.

New Britain and Stamford SMSAs had the largest percentages of their populations classified as foreign born, 12.8 and 11.1 percent respectively. No other SMSA had as much as ten percent of their populations in this category. The New London-Groton-Norwich SMSA had, by far, the smallest percentage foreign born in its population, 5.5 percent.

In general, Connecticut SMSAs had two or three times as many native born residents of foreign or mixed parentage as they did foreign born residents. Meriden and New Britain SMSAs had the highest percentage of native born of foreign or mixed parentage - 28.6 and 27.8 percent respectively. Again, New London-Groton-Norwich had the smallest proportion - 19.3 percent.

The non-white percentage varied more across SMSAs than did any of the other native or racial groups presented in Appendix VI. New Haven SMSA had, by far, the largest percent in the non-white category - 12.3 percent. No other metropolitan area had as much as nine percent of its population in this group. The Bristol SMSA, with 1.2 percent non-white, had the smallest percentage in this group.

The Meriden SMSA had the largest proportion of its population classified as persons of the Spanish language - 6.3 percent. Only one other SMSA had as much as four percent of its population in this group - Bridgeport, with 4.4 percent. Bristol SMSA had the smallest Spanish language population; slightly less than one percent of its population was in this category.

In summary, looking at the metropolitan areas collectively we see that second generation Americans constituted the largest of the four groups. The foreign born were second largest, with the non-white category fairly close behind. The Spanish language population was the smallest of these four groups. Finally, we note that each of these groups, despite their concentration in highly urban communities, were fairly small minorities in all of Connecticut's metropolitan areas in 1970.

Counties:

The eight counties of Connecticut differed from one another, too, in the proportions of their populations which were classified as foreign born, native born of foreign or mixed parentage, non-white, and of the Spanish language. Percentages in each of these categories are presented in Appendix VII.

The foreign born population of Connecticut counties in 1970 ranged from about four percent to ten percent of the total population. The largest percentages of foreign born were in Hartford (10.0), Fairfield (9.8), New Haven (8.2) and Windham (7.9) counties. Tolland County had the smallest percent foreign born (4.4). As the earlier analysis of places of residency by size indicated, the foreign born population is concentrated in the three highly urban counties in the State - Fairfield, Hartford and New Haven;* smaller proportions reside in the other, less

* Almost 84 percent of the State's foreign born population resided in these three highly urban counties in 1970.

urban counties.

A similar pattern obtains for the children of the foreign born; the largest percent in this category was noted for New Haven (24.6), Fairfield (23.9), and Hartford (23.9). Tolland County, again, had the smallest percentage - 18.3.

The three highly urban counties contain disproportionately high percentages of the non-white population; New Haven County had the highest percentage non-white (8.1), followed by Fairfield (7.6) and Hartford (7.2) counties.* The smallest relative non-white populations were found in Windham and Litchfield counties, which had 0.9 and 1.0 percent of their populations classified as non-white in 1970.

The largest concentration of persons of Spanish language were in Fairfield (3.6 percent), Hartford (2.5), and New Haven (2.3) counties. Three counties - Litchfield, Middlesex, and Tolland - had less than one percent of their populations classified as Spanish speaking.

The most noteworthy finding of this portion of the analysis of the spatial distribution of nativity and racial groups is the relative concentrations of four groups - foreign born, their children, non-whites, and Spanish speakers - in the three highly urban counties of Connecticut. Fairfield, Hartford, and New Haven counties had the highest proportions of these four groups of all counties in the State.

New England:

The same basic pattern displayed by counties within Connecticut is also shown by the New England States: the highly urban states - Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island - had higher proportions of their populations classified as foreign born, native born of foreign or mixed parentage, and non-white than did the less urbanized of the New England States (Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont).

As presented in Appendix VIII, Massachusetts had the highest foreign born percentage (8.7), followed closely by Connecticut (8.6) and Rhode Island (7.8); none of the other States had more than five percent of their populations classified as foreign born in 1970.

Rhode Island had the largest percentage classified as native of foreign or mixed parentage (25.0), followed by Massachusetts (24.6) and then Connecticut (23.4); the remaining three states had from about 14 to 18 percent of their populations in this category. All six states had second generation populations well above the national figure, indicating the extent to which immigrant groups selected New England as destinations in the past.

Connecticut had by far the largest non-white percentage in 1970 (6.5 percent), while Massachusetts had 3.7 and Rhode Island, 3.4 percent; less than one percent of the populations of the other three states was non-white.

* Approximately 91 percent of the State's non-white population lived in these three counties in 1970.

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF NATIVITY AND RACIAL GROUPS

An earlier report (Hadden and Townsend, 1973) analyzed and described in detail the age and sex composition of Connecticut's population in 1970. In this section we will compare the age and sex distributions of the native white, foreign born white, and non-white populations of the State in 1970.

Figure 7 presents age-sex pyramids for these three groups. Each pyramid shows the percentage distribution of the population classified by sex and by ten year age groups. The absolute numbers upon which the percentage distributions are based may be found in Appendix IX.

The shape of a "pyramid" for a particular population is determined by three forces - the past fertility, mortality and migration which the population has experienced. The age-sex distribution of the native white population in 1970 was approximately pyramidal in appearance. The broad base of the pyramid primarily reflects the relatively high fertility levels of the past 20 years. The narrowing at the 30 to 39 year old age group reflects the low levels of fertility experienced in the State and the nation as a whole during the depression years. The gradual and regular narrowing of the pyramid with increasing age starting with the 40 to 49 year old age group shows the increasing and inexorable effect of mortality at the older ages. In effect, the native white age-sex distribution has been affected predominantly by past patterns of fertility and mortality, while the migration component appears to have been relatively unimportant.

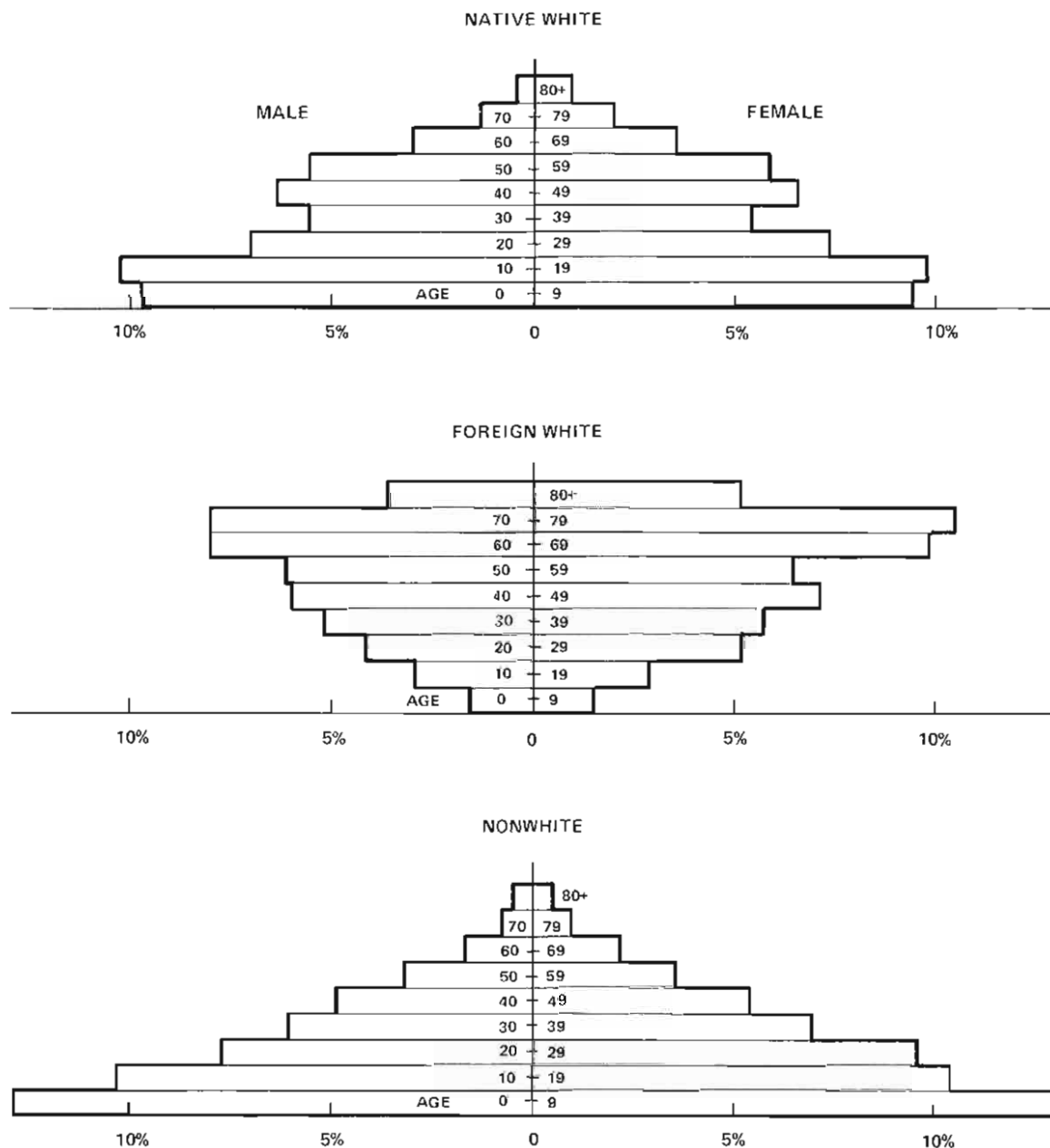
The native white population of Connecticut in 1970 was a relatively young one, as indicated by the fact that the largest age groups were those under 20 years old. This is also shown by the median age* of the population, which was 26.4 for native white males and 28.5 for native white females. The higher median age for females reflects the generally lower rates of mortality of females and the resultant larger percentages of females than males in the older age groups.

The foreign-born white population presents a remarkable contrast to the native white population. The pyramid in this case is upside down. Obviously, rather different forces have been at work here than in the preceding instance. It seems reasonable to expect that the migration factor has been of primary importance since this group is composed entirely of international migrants.

Two observations are in order. First, international migrants tend to be primarily young adults; few young children are part of these migration streams. This accounts for the very narrow base of the inverse pyramid. Second, we observed at the outset of this report that the peak immigration into the United States occurred some 60 to 70 years ago, declined thereafter for several decades and underwent a post World War II

* This is the age which divides the population into two groups of equal size; for example, 50 percent of the native white males were older than 26.4 and 50 percent were younger.

Figure 7. Age-Sex Distribution, in Percentages, for Native White, Foreign Born White and Nonwhite Populations, Connecticut: 1970.



SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX IX.

resurgence. The very heavy immigration of young adults around the turn of the century accounts for the broad apex of the age-sex distribution; high mortality rates at the older ages modify this somewhat, particularly in the over-80 age category.

Past patterns of international migration seem, therefore, to largely account for the shape of the age-sex distribution, although the influence of mortality may be seen at the older age groups. By 1980, it is probable that the distribution will be approximately the shape of a diamond, with a narrow base and apex and a wide middle section.

Obviously, the foreign-born white population is much older than the native white population. The largest age categories among the former are between 60 and 80 years of age. The median age of foreign white males in 1970 was 55.5 years and for females was 57.8. These figures indicate that, in the aggregate, the foreign-born white population of Connecticut was about twice as old as the native-born white population.

The age-sex distribution of the State's non-white population presented in Figure 7 clearly is pyramidal in form. The base of the pyramid is broader than that of the native white pyramid, reflecting primarily the higher fertility levels of the Negro population. The non-white age groups between 10 and 40 are also proportionately larger than for the native white population. This, of course, reflects high fertility in the past but probably more important is the migration of Negroes into Connecticut from the South and elsewhere in the Northeast. It is only above age 40 that the non-white age groups become proportionately smaller than the native white age groups. The mortality rates of non-whites (especially Negroes) are higher than for whites at all ages; this undoubted partially accounts for the disparity in the distribution of non-whites at the older ages. Also important in this regard is the fact that the non-white population of Connecticut has grown substantially since 1950; this growth has occurred mainly at the younger ages through both fertility and migration. Consequently, the older age groups are relatively small, quite apart from the influence of mortality.

The non-white population of the State is considerably younger than the native white population. The median age of non-white males in 1970 was 20.8 and of females was 22.8. As was the case for native whites and foreign-born whites, the median age for females was about two years higher than for males. This mainly reflects the lower levels of mortality among females than males.

SUMMARY

The population of Connecticut in 1970 consisted predominantly of native-born whites. The past influence of foreign immigration in the peopling of the State, however, is still evident in the size of the second generation population and, to a lesser extent, in the number of foreign-born individuals residing in the State. While the relative size of the foreign-born component of the population has been declining steadily in recent decades, the size of the non-white (especially the Negro) population has been increasing. It seems likely that the non-white population will continue growing for some time while the foreign-born population continues declining.

The residential patterns of the various nativity-racial groups differ. The foreign-born, Negro and Spanish language populations were disproportionately located in urban places and particularly in the large urban places (ie., urbanized areas and Standard Metropolitan Statistical areas). Within these highly urban communities, the Negro and the Spanish-language populations were especially likely (more so than the foreign born) to be found in the central city as opposed to the suburban fringe. The native white population, on the other hand, was more likely to be found in the smaller urban places and in the rural portions of the State. The numerical superiority of the native white population which obtains in the State as a whole extends into communities of all sizes, including the densely populated central cities.

The age composition of the foreign-born population of the State differs substantially from that of all other groups. Primarily as a consequence of past patterns of foreign immigration, the foreign-born population is quite old - 45 percent of this group is over age 60. This further supports the idea that future decreases in the size of the foreign-born population are likely. The native-born white population is considerably younger, on the average, than the foreign-born white population. The youngest of the populations considered, however, is the non-white, primarily as a result of relatively high fertility levels. About one-half of this group is under age 20.

APPENDIX I: Percentage Distribution of the Population by Color, with
 Nativity Status of the White Population, Connecticut:
 1900-1970

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Percent White</u>		<u>Percent Negro & Other Races</u>	<u>Total</u>
		<u>Native</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>		
1900	908,420	72.1	26.1	1.8	100.0
1910	1,114,756	69.1	29.5	1.4	100.0
1920	1,380,631	71.1	27.3	1.6	100.0
1930	1,606,903	74.3	23.8	1.9	100.0
1940	1,709,242	78.8	19.2	2.0	100.0
1950	2,007,280	82.4	14.9	2.7	100.0
1960	2,535,234	84.9	10.7	4.4	100.0
1970	3,031,705	85.3	8.3	6.4	100.0

Source: Burnight and Field, 1956, Table 4; U. S. Bureau of the Census,
 1961, Table 38; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Table 49.

APPENDIX II: Number and Percent of Foreign Stock According to Country of Origin, Connecticut: 1960, 1970

Country of Origin	1970		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	969,807	100.0	982,143	100.0
United Kingdom	71,532	7.4	82,284	8.4
Ireland	60,366	6.2	75,409	7.7
Norway	5,513	0.6	5,316	0.5
Sweden	23,427	2.4	30,031	3.1
Denmark	5,471	0.6	6,424	0.7
Netherlands	3,586	0.4	2,400	0.2
Switzerland	4,291	0.4	4,845	0.5
France	8,388	0.9	7,972	0.8
Germany (East & West)	60,290	6.2	64,444	6.6
Poland	103,820	10.7	117,663	12.0
Czechoslovakia	19,871	2.0	25,056	2.6
Austria	24,595	2.5	25,448	2.6
Hungary	21,641	2.2	25,367	2.6
Yugoslavia	3,447	0.4	2,997	0.3
U.S.S.R.	48,150	5.0	55,260	5.6
Lithuania	20,469	2.1	26,035	2.7
Greece	10,933	1.1	8,689	0.9
Italy	227,782	23.5	237,146	24.1
Other Europe	32,304	3.3	25,517	2.6
Asia	18,350	1.9	11,786	1.2
Western Asia	8,655	0.9	7,870	0.8
China	2,195	0.2	1,205	0.1
Japan	1,492	0.2	661	0.1
Other Asia	6,008	0.6	2,050	0.2
Canada	126,305	13.0	122,377	12.5
Mexico	1,220	0.1	645	0.1
Cuba	5,772	0.6	1,644	0.2
Other America	18,844	1.9	8,986	0.9
All Other	6,360	0.7	3,704	0.4
Not Reported	37,080	3.8	4,698	0.5

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Table 45.

APPENDIX III: Number and Percent of Connecticut Residents According to Race: 1960, 1970

Race	1970		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	3,031,709	100.0	2,535,234	100.0
White	2,835,458	93.5	2,423,816	95.6
Non-white	196,251	6.5	111,418	4.4
Negro	181,177	6.0	107,449	4.2
Indian	2,222	0.1	923	(*)
Japanese	1,621	0.1	653	(*)
Chinese	2,209	0.1	865	(*)
Filipino	2,177	0.1	726	(*)
All Other	6,845	0.2	802	(*)

(*): Less than one-tenth of one percent.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971a, Tables 17 and 18.

APPENDIX IV: Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups by Rural and Urban Residence, Connecticut: 1970

Nativity and Race	Rural-Urban Residence				
	Total Number	Total Percent	Percent Urban	Percent Rural Non-farm	Percent Rural Farm
Total Population	3,031,705	100.0	77.3	21.0	1.7
Native	2,770,091	100.0	76.5	21.8	1.7
Native Parentage	2,061,898	100.0	75.0	23.3	1.7
Foreign-Mixed Parentage	708,193	100.0	80.9	17.5	1.6
Foreign Born	261,614	100.0	86.4	12.3	1.3

White	2,838,762	100.0	76.1	22.2	1.7
Negro	181,179	100.0	96.4	3.4	0.2
Other Races	11,764	100.0	82.8	16.6	0.6

Persons of Spanish Language	73,357	100.0	91.9	7.6	0.5

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Table 49.

8 APPENDIX V: Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups by Size of Place of Residence,
Connecticut: 1970

Nativity and Race	Total* Percent	Percent in Urbanized Areas			Other Places of:		
		Total	Central Cities	Urban Fringe	10,000 or more	2,500 to 10,000	Less than 2,500
Total Population	100.0	69.3	32.8	36.5	4.3	3.7	22.7
Native	100.0	68.4	31.5	36.9	4.3	3.8	23.5
Native Parentage	100.0	66.6	30.9	35.7	4.2	4.1	25.1
Foreign or Mixed Parentage	100.0	73.5	33.3	40.2	4.4	3.1	19.0
Foreign Born	100.0	79.4	46.4	32.9	4.3	2.7	13.6
- - - - -							
White	100.0	67.8	29.6	38.2	4.3	3.9	24.0
Negro	100.0	92.5	81.5	11.0	3.1	0.9	3.5
Other Races	100.0	73.1	51.9	21.2	8.1	4.4	14.4
- - - - -							
Persons of Spanish Language	100.0	86.5	69.7	16.8	3.4	2.0	8.1

* See Appendix IV for the numbers upon which the percentages are based.
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971a, Table 17; 1972a, Table 60.

APPENDIX VI: Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups in Metropolitan Areas,
Connecticut: 1970

Percentage of the Metropolitan Area's Population Which is:

<u>Metropolitan Areas</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>	<u>Native Born of:</u>		<u>Negro and Other Races</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Language</u>
			<u>Foreign or Mixed Parentage</u>	<u>Native Parentage</u>		
Bridgeport	390,022	9.1	25.3	65.6	8.0	4.4
Bristol	65,808	8.5	25.8	65.7	1.2	0.9
Danbury	78,504	8.8	22.7	68.5	4.0	1.5
Hartford	663,845	9.1	22.6	68.3	8.1	2.4
Meriden	55,959	8.4	28.6	63.0	2.9	6.3
New Britain	145,269	12.8	27.8	59.4	3.2	3.3
New Haven	355,621	7.8	23.6	68.6	12.3	1.9
New London- Groton-Norwich	208,290	5.5	19.3	75.2	4.3	1.4
Norwalk	120,167	9.5	22.6	67.9	8.4	3.4
Stamford	206,413	11.1	22.9	66.0	7.9	2.9
Waterbury	208,872	9.2	25.8	65.0	5.9	2.4
State Total	3,031,705	8.6	23.3	68.1	6.5	2.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Tables 40 and 96; 1971a, Table 16.

APPENDIX VII: Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups in Counties, Connecticut:
1970

Percentage of the County's Population:

<u>County</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Foreign Born</u>	<u>Native Born of:</u>		<u>Negro and Other Races</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Language</u>
			<u>Foreign or Mixed Parentage</u>	<u>Native Parentage</u>		
Fairfield	792,811	9.8	23.9	66.3	7.6	3.6
Hartford	816,737	10.0	23.9	66.1	7.2	2.5
Litchfield	144,091	6.7	22.7	70.6	1.0	0.9
Middlesex	114,816	6.6	22.3	71.1	3.2	0.9
New Haven	744,947	8.2	24.6	67.2	8.1	2.3
New London	230,348	5.5	19.3	75.2	4.0	1.3
Tolland	103,440	4.4	18.3	77.3	1.6	0.7
Windham	84,515	7.9	22.3	69.8	0.9	1.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971a, Table 16; 1972a, Tables 43 and 129.

APPENDIX VIII: Percentage Distribution of Nativity and Racial Groups,
for New England States: 1970

Percentage of the State's Population Which is:

State	Total Population	Foreign Born	Native Born of:		Non-white
			Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Native Parentage	
Connecticut	3,031,709	8.6	23.4	68.0	6.5
Maine	992,048	4.3	15.1	80.6	0.7
Massachusetts	5,689,170	8.7	24.6	66.7	3.7
New Hampshire	737,681	5.0	18.1	76.9	0.6
Rhode Island	946,725	7.8	25.0	67.2	3.4
Vermont	444,330	4.2	14.1	81.7	0.4
U.S. Total	203,211,926	4.7	11.8	83.5	12.5

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972c, Table 59; 1972d, Table 140.

APPENDIX IX: Age and Sex Composition of the Native White, Foreign Born
White, and Non-white Populations, Connecticut: 1970

Age Groups	Native White		Foreign Born White		Non-white	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0- 9	249,792	242,310	4,056	3,698	25,255	25,488
10-19	262,917	254,190	7,259	7,195	20,255	20,414
20-29	180,954	191,312	10,362	13,160	15,055	18,837
30-39	142,383	143,483	12,828	14,564	11,765	13,777
40-49	164,113	170,193	15,234	18,051	9,455	10,503
50-59	142,871	151,957	15,292	16,297	5,998	6,876
60-69	77,570	93,972	20,080	25,008	3,335	4,274
70-79	32,957	52,532	20,105	26,428	1,447	1,934
80 and Over	10,728	22,684	9,151	13,076	753	900
Total	1,264,285	1,322,633	114,367	137,477	93,288	102,963
Median Age	26.4	28.5	55.5	57.8	20.8	22.8

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971a, Table 20; 1972b, Table 138.

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